

AN
HISTORICAL
GEOGRAPHY OF
IRAN

W. BARTHOLD

TRANSLATED BY
SVAT SOUCEK

EDITED WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY
C. E. BOSWORTH

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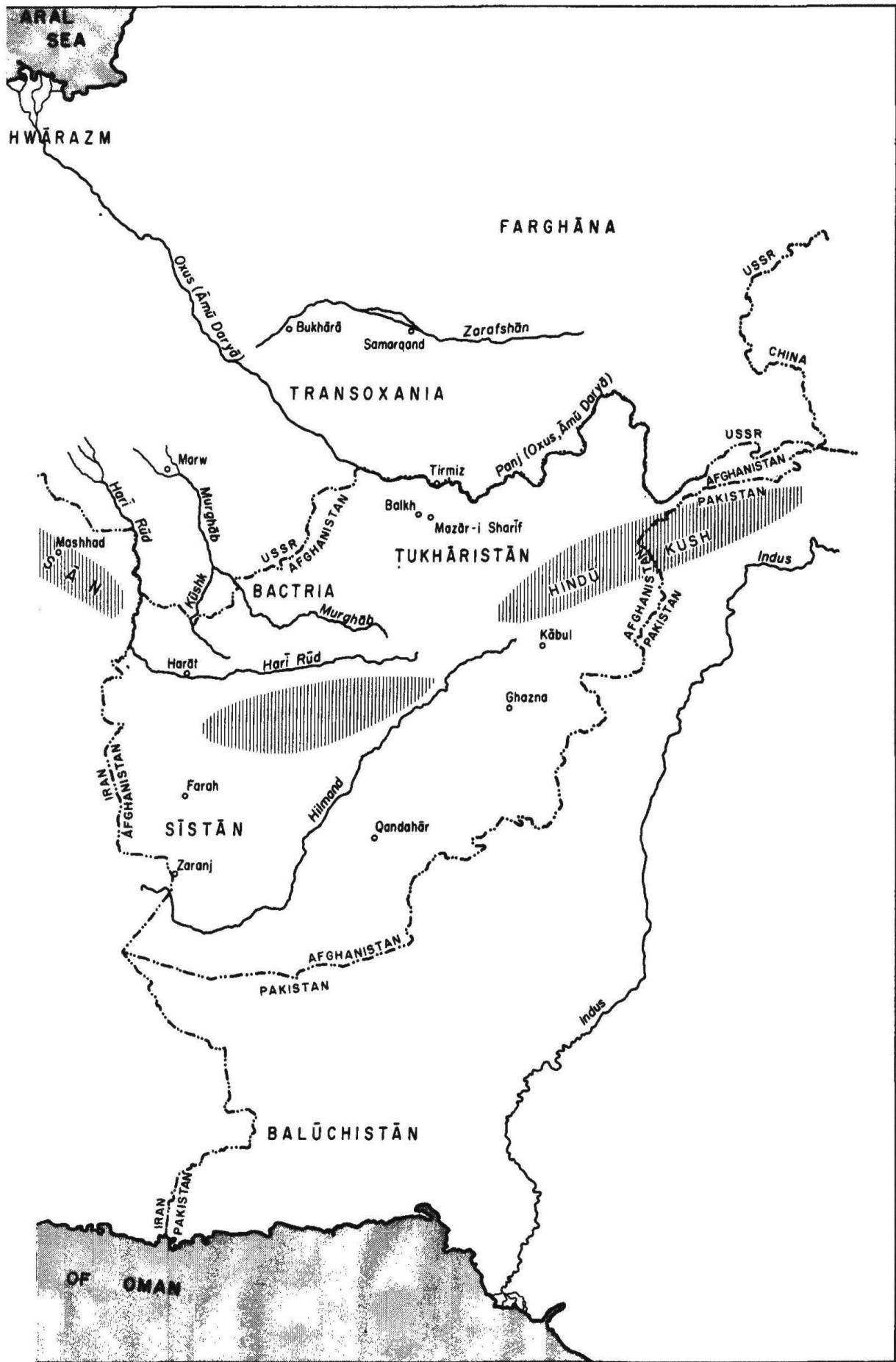
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<i>AA</i>	<i>Archäologischer Anzeiger</i>
<i>AGWG</i>	<i>Abhandlungen der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, phil.-hist. Kl.</i>
<i>AI</i>	<i>Athār-é Irān</i>
<i>AJA</i>	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
<i>AMI</i>	<i>Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran</i>
<i>AN</i>	<i>Akademia Nauk</i>
<i>ANVA</i>	<i>Avhandlinger utgivet av Det Norske Videnskaps-Akademii, Oslo</i>
<i>AO</i>	<i>Acta Orientalia</i>
<i>AOHung</i>	<i>Acta Orientalia Hungarica</i>
<i>AOr</i>	<i>Archiv Orientální</i>
<i>APAW</i>	<i>Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Kl.</i>
<i>BGA</i>	<i>Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum</i>
<i>BSO[A]S</i>	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental [and African] Studies</i>
<i>CAJ</i>	<i>Central Asiatic Journal</i>
<i>EI¹</i>	<i>Encyclopaedia of Islam, 1st edition</i>
<i>EI²</i>	<i>Encyclopaedia of Islam, 2nd edition</i>
<i>EW</i>	<i>East and West</i>
<i>Farhang</i>	<i>Farhang-i jughrāfiyā-yi Irān</i>
<i>GAL</i>	<i>C. Brockelmann, Geschichte der arabischen Literatur</i>
<i>GIPh</i>	<i>W. Geiger and E. Kuhn, eds., Grundriss der iranischen Philologie</i>
<i>GJ</i>	<i>Geographical Journal</i>
<i>GMS</i>	<i>Gibb Memorial Series</i>
<i>HJAS</i>	<i>Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies</i>
<i>Hor</i>	<i>Handbuch der Orientalistik</i>
<i>IA</i>	<i>Islām Ansiklopedisi</i>
<i>IJ</i>	<i>Indo-Iranian Journal</i>
<i>IJMES</i>	<i>International Journal of Middle East Studies</i>
<i>IQ</i>	<i>Islamic Quarterly</i>
<i>Iran, JBIPS</i>	<i>Iran, Journal of the British Institute of Persian Studies</i>
<i>Isl.</i>	<i>Der Islam</i>
<i>IUTAKÈ</i>	<i>Trudy Iuzhno-Turkmenistanskoi arkheologicheskoi kompleksnoi èkspeditsii</i>

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

JA	<i>Journal Asiatique</i>
JASB	<i>Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal</i>
JAOS	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
JESHO	<i>Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient</i>
JNES	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
JRAS	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society</i>
JRCAS	<i>Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society</i>
JSFOu	<i>Journal de la Société Finno-Ougrienne</i>
JSS	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>
MO	<i>Le Monde Oriental</i>
NGWG	<i>Nachrichten von der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen</i>
NTS	<i>Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvitenskap</i>
OLZ	<i>Orientalistische Literaturzeitung</i>
OON	<i>Otdelenie obshchestvennykh nauk</i>
PRGS	<i>Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society</i>
PW	<i>Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i>
REI	<i>Revue des Études Islamiques</i>
RMM	<i>Revue du Monde Musulman</i>
SA	<i>Sovetskaia Arkheologija</i>
SBAW Berlin	<i>Sitzungsberichte der Königlich. Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berlin, phil.-hist. Kl.</i>
SBWAW	<i>Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Wien, phil.-hist. Kl.</i>
SB Bayr. AW	<i>Sitzungsberichte der Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu München, phil.-hist. Kl.</i>
Soch.	V. V. Bartol'd, <i>Sochineniia</i> , Moscow, 1963-1977. 9 vols.
SON	<i>Seriia obshchestvennykh nauk</i>
Survey of Persian Art	A. U. Pope and P. A. Ackermann, eds. <i>A Survey of Persian Art from Prehistoric Times to the Present</i> . 6 vols. London and New York, 1938-1939.
TPS	<i>Transactions of the Philological Society</i>
ZA	<i>Zeitschrift für Assyriologie</i>
ZDMG	<i>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i>
ZII	<i>Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik, Leipzig</i>
ZVORAO	<i>Zapiski Vostochnogo Otdeleniia Russkogo Arkheologicheskogo Obshchestva</i>







EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

No historian of the eastern Islamic world is unfamiliar with the works of Vasilii Vladimirovich Bartol'd (1869-1930), or Wilhelm Barthold, as his name was originally rendered in the Germano-Russian milieu into which he was born. His magnum opus, the work based on his St. Petersburg doctoral thesis, *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion*, appeared in English in the Gibb Memorial Series in 1928, and with an extra, hitherto unpublished chapter, again in 1968. The late Professor V. and Mrs. T. Minorsky performed a valuable service in 1958-1962 by translating as *Four Studies on the History of Central Asia* (in fact, five studies) Barthold's *A Short History of Turkestan*, *History of the Semirechyé*, *Ulugh-Beg*, *Mir 'Ali Shīr*, and *A History of the Turkman People*. The lectures that Barthold gave in Turkish at Istanbul in 1926 are available in both German and French versions (*Zwölf Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der Türken Mittelasiens*, 1935, and *Histoire des Turcs d'Asie Centrale*, 1945). A general work on Asian exploration and the evolution of oriental studies appeared in French in 1947, *La découverte de l'Asie, histoire de l'orientalisme en Europe et en Russie*. Various other lesser works have been translated into western languages and into Arabic, Persian, and Turkish; Barthold wrote certain of his articles in the language of his family background, German; and the large number of articles that he wrote for the first edition of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (many of them now updated and included in the new edition) are also widely available to the non-Russophone reader. But although the work of translation has gone on steadily in the half-century since Barthold's death, these works still represent only a small part of his total oeuvre, extending over some forty years; the *Collected Works* (*Sochineniia*) that appeared at Moscow between 1963 and 1977 (comprising ten parts in nine volumes) amount to over 7,000 large pages.

The stature of the man emerges from these bare statistics and the recounting of titles. The lands of eastern Islam, from Iran to Afghanistan and Central Asia, were Barthold's particular sphere of interest, and above all the latter, for the Russian advance into Central Asia during the later nineteenth century opened up for Russian scholars exciting possibilities of historical and archaeolog-

EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

ical investigation, whereas earlier European travelers to places like Khiva, Bukhara, and Samarcand had had to contend with capricious and barbaric local potentates who hardly observed the international conventions of behavior toward accredited diplomats, let alone toward free-lance travelers and researchers, figures of suspicion at the best of times. Barthold realized early in his scholarly career at the University of St. Petersburg, where he lectured from 1896 onward, that the investigation of the history, topography, and antiquities of Central Asia offered a field similar to that opened up in the Indian subcontinent in the late eighteenth century for British scholars. Barthold made almost annual field trips to Central Asia starting in 1893, undeterred by the fact that in that first year, on a journey to Semirechye, he broke his leg and had to return to Tashkent for medical treatment. In the 1920s, he was much in demand by the various Soviet republics that had by 1924 emerged in Central Asia after the final extinguishing of nationalist and separatist aspirations there, to write local histories and accounts of the different Turkish peoples of the republics. Both in the Tsarist period and after, Barthold was insistent that Russian officials, traders, soldiers, and so on working in Central Asia should busy themselves in their spare time with the study of the region, recognizing how much invaluable work had been done for our knowledge of Indian geography, society, and history by successive generations of devoted British administrators and soldiers.

Central Asia has always been at the receiving end of religious, cultural, and other influences, rather than being a spontaneously creative region, and it is this receptiveness to an assortment of outside civilizations—including those of China, India, the Middle East—that makes the study of Central Asia and the interaction of these strands such a fascinating one. It does, however, make stringent demands on the scholar who would devote himself to Inner Asia, not least in the matter of linguistic equipment; hence the rarity of the multilingual Marquarts and Pelliots. Barthold's concern was more particularly Islamic Central Asia, and his skills lay chiefly in the sphere of the three great Islamic languages, Arabic, Persian, and Turkish. He was an exacting philologist, fully cognizant of the truism not always appreciated today that without philological expertise the would-be specialist in the Middle East, or for that matter, in any part of Asia, is as sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal. Accompanying his *Turkestan* when it appeared in 1898-1900 was a volume of texts, most of them edited for the first time by Barthold from manuscripts bristling with linguistic problems

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and difficulties of interpretation; many of these texts, such as Gar-dīzī's *Zayn al-akhbār*, 'Awfi's *Jawāmi' al-ḥikāyāt*, and Isfizārī's *Rawdāt al-jannāt*, have since been published, but here, as in so many spheres, Barthold was the pioneer.

One of those great civilizations that have profoundly affected Central Asia is the Iranian, for out of Iran such faiths as Zoroastrianism, Manicheism, Nestorian Christianity, and most recently Islam have been mediated to the Asian heartland. If only because a knowledge of Iranian civilization was a necessary adjunct to the understanding of Central Asia, Barthold was bound to be attracted to the study of Iran, a land with which Russia had already long been in intimate political, military, and commercial contact. Two of his major works, indeed, deal with it, the one translated here, and *Iran, a Historical Survey*, and both will now be available in English (a translation of the latter appeared at Bombay in about 1939).

Barthold's basic attitude to history was, as Professor Yuri Bregel has pointed out in a perceptive study that should be read in conjunction with this present Introduction,¹ that of nineteenth-century German positivist historiography, with the evolution of mankind viewed as a convergence of originally distinct human societies through the diffusion of culturally more advanced societies to the less advanced. It was in the light of this process that he viewed such diverse phenomena as religion, the growth of world empires, the development of urban life, and the spread of international trade, and that he viewed with favor the *missions civilisatrices* of the imperial powers of his time, whether Britain in India and Africa or Russia in Central Asia, Siberia, and the Caucasus. It was, indeed, Barthold's intellectual support for the Imperial Russian mission in Central Asia (one whose positive achievements were appreciated at the time by outside observers such as Schuyler and Curzon) that eventually contributed to a fuller rehabilitation of his work in post-Stalinist Soviet Russia. For although Barthold, as a Russian patriot, had stayed on in Russia after the Bolshevik Revolution, he gave no assent to Communism and regarded Marx as an unhistorical, unscientific figure whose ideas had no relevance for oriental studies; he had never become a nonperson in Soviet scholarship, but his works had been somewhat neglected or cited only selectively and misleadingly in some quarters, above all in the Central Asian Soviet Republics.

The *Historical Geography of Iran* is essentially an analytical and

¹ "Barthold and Modern Oriental Studies," *IJMES*, XII (1980), 385-403.

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descriptive work rather than an attempt at synthesis. Barthold was conscious of the backwardness of oriental studies in the identification and evaluation of the basic sources, compared with long-established disciplines such as classical studies and European literature and history. He held that the critical study of these basic sources was necessary before any meaningful grand syntheses could be made. Iran, with its successive great empires—those of the Achaemenids, Parthians, Sāsānids, and Muslims—its diverse faiths and its fine literary and artistic achievements, was already much more sharply focussed for the scholar than was Central Asia, but the historical geography of Iran, apart from groundwork done by such scholars as Tomaschek, had been hardly explored. As it happened, while Barthold was working on his book, two German scholars were also putting together outstanding contributions to this very subject, though from very different angles. Josef Marquart (a scholar whom Barthold felt to be to some extent a rival to himself, with their overlapping interests, and one whose wide-ranging speculations, even at times lucubrations, Barthold felt were often not sufficiently firmly grounded in reality) in his *Ērānšahr nach der Geographie des Ps. Moses Xorenac'i* (1901) gave a translation of a brief and jejune Armenian geographical work enriched by a commentary of amazing erudition; and Paul Schwarz was embarking on his *Iran in Mittelalter* (1896-1936), a patient synthesis of all the information available in the medieval Islamic geographers but without any attempt at interpretation. These works Barthold was able to draw upon substantially only for his additional notes, but his own book stands as a parallel, though completely independent achievement, and has the additional advantage of providing a successful blend of classical, medieval Islamic, and modern European information on his subject.

For sources, Barthold accordingly drew upon the results of a patient sifting by earlier Iranists of the classical—above all Greek—sources on Iran; and then, for the earlier Islamic centuries, upon the corpus of ninth- and tenth-century Arabic geographical texts collected by M. J. de Goeje in his *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum* (1870-1894), supplemented by Yāqūt's *Mu'jam al-buldān*. For the period of the Saljuqs, Mongols, Timūrids, and so on, he had texts by authors such as Nasawī, Juwaynī, 'Abd al-Razzāq Samarqandī, and Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, in the exploitation of which Barthold was often a trailblazer. For the period up to the present, for which primary historical sources in Persian or Arabic become sparser, he utilized fully the many European travelers, diplomatic envoys, merchants,

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members of religious orders, and so on who traveled within Iran, being thereby able, through the citation of such recent observers as I. N. Berezin, E. G. Browne, the Hon. G. N. Curzon, and A. V. Williams Jackson, to make his survey entirely up to date. It is not surprising that Barthold is particularly full on Khurāsān and the northeastern fringes of Iran, for Russian travelers and scholars had done much valuable spadework here for him; but the breadth of his treatment of other provinces such as Fārs and Azerbaijan shows that his mastery of the source material extended to the whole of historic Iran, including Mesopotamia, that at various epochs has formed part of the empires of Iran.

The basic sources for the medieval Islamic period have not been greatly enlarged since Barthold's time. Since it was only in 1922 that A.Z.V. Togan discovered at Mashhad a manuscript of the Arab traveler Abū Dulaf al-Khazraji's second *risāla* on his travels in northern and western Iran, Barthold was not able to draw upon this, although he was of course aware of the numerous citations from this work in Yāqūt; I have therefore added the relevant references to Minorsky's 1955 edition and translation of the *risāla*. Also, Barthold naturally knew of the anonymous Persian geographical work from the late tenth century, the *Hudūd al-‘ālam*, acquired by Captain A. G. Tumanskii at Bukhara in 1893, and whose text he was later to edit and to have published posthumously (1930). But in the earlier period, he was only able to quote to a limited extent from a photographic copy, so that ampler references to the English translation and monumental commentary of Minorsky (1937) have been added by Livshits.

Finally, one should mention that a Persian translation of the *Historical Geography of Iran* was published at Tehran in 1930 by Sardādwar; it is now very hard to find,² and it may be fairly claimed that the present translation will for the first time make available to western readers one of the masterworks of a giant of oriental studies.

THE translation has been made by Dr. Svat Soucek from the text of the *Istoriko-geograficheskii obzor Irana* given in Vol. VII of Barthold's *Sochineniia* (Moscow, 1971), pp. 31-225, a volume provided with a lengthy Introduction (pp. 5-28) by Dr. V. A. Livshits. Barthold's original text is liberally sprinkled with quotations from Ar-

² My colleague, Mr. Mohsen Ashtiany, tells me that it has, however, recently been reprinted in Iran.

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abic, Persian, and Turkish sources given in the original Arabic script. These also have been translated; citations from classical Greek authors have been left in the original script.

The notes are an exceedingly valuable feature of this 1971 edition, but as translated in this present work they represent a palimpsest, as it were, of different layers by different hands. Barthold's original notes, given with the 1903 original text, were brief and largely confined to the citation of oriental texts used for the work. But as was his custom with other major works, over the years Barthold accumulated, out of his own reading and in some instances his closer personal acquaintance with the actual terrain, a rich collection of further references. Facsimile examples of Barthold's notes are given by Livshits at pp. 22-26 of his Introduction. Livshits has integrated these with the notes of the original edition (leaving them, in many cases, in their terse, elliptical, notelike form), and in the present translation, these are not otherwise distinguished; anyone who wishes to disentangle the 1903 notes from the subsequent ones can easily do so from the *Sochinenia* text. Livshits has, however, vastly increased the value of the latter text by adding his own extensive annotation, comprising in the main relevant works that appeared during the years 1930-1967. In the present translation, these are marked off by angle brackets, thus: <...>. The final layer is that of my own notes, references to works that have either appeared since 1967 or that were published earlier but were apparently not available to Livshits in the Soviet Union. Furthermore, references to translations of texts into western European languages, for example to Yule's translation of Marco Polo and to Le Strange's one of Clavijo's *Embassy to Tamerlane*, have been given where Barthold cited only Russian translations. These additions of my own have been placed within square brackets, thus: [...] when they represent insertions within or additions to existing notes. Where a few notes have been inserted at fresh points in Barthold's text, these are indicated by letters, thus: a, b, c, etc. In general, however, I have sought not to overload still further an already substantial weight of annotation.

The bibliography given at the end of this book is a select one. Volume VII of the *Sochinenia* contains a bibliography of truly gargantuan dimensions (87 pages), although this also refers, it is true, to the other contents of the volume (*Iran, a Historical Survey*, some review articles and shorter articles, and some *Encyclopaedia of Islam* articles). The system that I have adopted within the body of the translation is to give the full title and bibliographical details when

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the work in question does not appear in the bibliography. The naturally very numerous Russian works cited by Barthold are usually given by short title only and without full bibliographical details. Sergei Shuiskii has assembled a bibliography of Russian works that gives the full references; this follows the main bibliography.

For measurements and distances, Barthold wisely did not attempt to reduce the figures given in his sources to a common denominator; hence one finds metric measurements side-by-side with, for example, English miles and the traditional Russian units. The reader may therefore find it useful to note that a verst is approximately a kilometer or 3,500 English feet in length, an arshin 28 inches in length, and a desiatina 2.7 acres in area.

C. E. BOSWORTH
December 1981

**AN
HISTORICAL
GEOGRAPHY OF
IRAN**

INTRODUCTION

THE purpose of this work is to present a brief survey of the geography of Iran, to dwell in greater detail on the sites that were at various historical periods the centers of life, and to determine, as far as possible, the degree of dependence of this life on geographical circumstances.

“Iran” as a geographical term denotes an elevated plateau, bordering on the north and northeast the basins of the Caspian and Aral seas, and on the west, south, and southeast, the basin of the Indian ocean. The country is one of the so-called interior, landlocked basins, whose characteristic peculiarities have been best described by F. Richthofen in his book on China.¹ The main difference between these basins and the ocean-drained or peripheral ones is that in the former, all the products of mechanical or chemical decomposition (through the action of water, wind, and so on) remain within the region, whereas in the latter they are carried away into the sea; in the former the accumulation of such deposits gradually effaces the unevenness of the soil and is instrumental in its leveling, whereas in the latter the deposits pile up along the coasts and further the formation of deltas and the raising of sea bottoms; the waters that pass through a country on the way to the sea erode the soil more and more, and the unevenness of the latter becomes ever more sharply pronounced. This is, then, how in closed basins the compartmentalization of the surface gradually diminishes, whereas in the peripheral ones it increases. Lack of moisture in landlocked basins, however, allows only a minor part of the country’s surface to be cultivated, and this hinders a solid and lasting development of culture and civilization; for these reasons landlocked basins sharply differ from the peripheral ones not only in geography but also in history.

The Iranian plateau is one of such interior basins with an extremely dry climate.² Except in a few mountain areas, agriculture

¹ (F. Fr. von Richthofen, *China. Ergebnisse eigener Reisen und darauf gegründeter Studien* (Berlin, 1877), 1. Theil, 6-21.)

² For the absence of change in the climate during the last millennium, cf. W. Tomaschek, “Zur historischen Topographie, II,” pp. 561-62; Polybius, X, 28, 3 cited by L. S. Berg, “Ob izmeneniiakh klimata v istoricheskuiu epokhu,” *Zemlevedenie* (1911), book III, p. 80.

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is possible here only through irrigation; for this reason all the rivers, except for the most important ones, are divided up into irrigation canals as soon as they leave the mountains. Their remaining waters disappear in the sands. Civilization is of necessity concentrated along the fringes of the mountains that cut through the plateau. For these same reasons, the geographical borders of Iran could not coincide with the political and ethnic ones. The fact that almost the entire interior of the country is unsuitable for sedentary civilization could not but force the Iranians to settle areas neighboring the oceanic and Aralo-Caspian basins. The easternmost branch of the Iranians, the Afghans, now live chiefly in the basin of the Indus, whereas the westernmost one, the Kurds, live in that of the Tigris.³ These were the approximate limits within which lived the historical Iranians,⁴ as a result of which F. Spiegel, the author of a voluminous (now already somewhat dated) work on Iran, considered it possible to give his book the following title: *Érân, das Land zwischen dem Indus und Tigris*.

In the ethnic sense, the term "Iranians," as is well known, denotes that branch of the Aryans who are closely related to those of India. The oldest monuments of Indian and Iranian literatures are linguistically so similar that an attempt has even been made to reconstruct, in general terms, the language spoken by the proto-historical common ancestors of the Iranians and Indians. H. Oldenberg in his book *Aus Indien und Iran* remarks that "we can trace down to individual details the processes through which that language, not a single word of which has been preserved by history, developed to the southeast of the Hindu Kush into the dialect of the Vedas, and to the southwest of these same mountains into that of the Avesta."⁵ Of the two branches of the Asian Aryans—the Indians and Iranians—the Indians received their ethnic characteristics, it would seem, only in the country on that side of the Hindu Kush: there are no traces of Indians inhabiting the area to the north of these mountains. On the other hand, the Iranians, in the opinion of today's scholars, had at one time occupied a considerable portion of southern Russia and all of Turkestan, both western, present-day Russian, Turkestan and eastern Turkestan, that is, the Tarim

³ «For the present-day limits of the spread of the Iranian languages, see Oranskii, *Vuedemie*, p. 288.»

⁴ In the *Kitâb al-Fihrist*, ed. G. Flügel, I, 18², Sughd was called *Irân al-A'lâ*, "Upper Iran"; see Ross-Gauthiot, "De l'alphabet soghdien," *JA*, ser. 10, vol. XVII (1911), 532.

⁵ «H. Oldenberg, *Aus Indien und Iran* (Berlin, 1899), pp. 137-38.»

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basin. The languages spoken in this entire area already had the characteristic features of the Iranian idiom, not those of the proto-historical Indo-Iranian tongue. Both this fact and the few historical data available to us—the latter partly set out in F. A. Braun's magisterial dissertation *Razyskaniia v oblasti goto-slavianskikh otnoshenii* ["Researches in the Field of Gotha-Slavic Relations"]⁶—make us suppose that the movement of the Iranians, after their separation from the Indians, proceeded from east to west rather than vice versa; the Iranians migrated into present-day Persia, most probably, also from the east,⁷ and prior to their irruption there they reached a certain degree of cultural development in regions included today within the borders of Afghanistan. Here, in the basin of the Āmū Daryā and of other rivers that flow from the high mountain ranges that constitute that eastern limit of the Iranian plateau, the conditions of irrigation are somewhat more propitious than in the western part of Iran, for the high snow-clad mountain crests give rise to vigorous rivers. The traveler Ferrier, who in the years 1845-1846 crossed Persia and Afghanistan, states that through the area from Kermanshah, the principal town of Persian Kurdistān, to the Hari Rūd river, which represents the border of Persia and Afghanistan, he had to cross only brooks (*ruisseaux*); the Hari Rūd was the first river "à laquelle on puisse donner le nom de rivière."⁸ According to Ferrier again, the Hilmand is the only water course in the entire area from the Tigris to the Indus that deserves the appellation of a full-fledged river (*fleuve*).⁹

⁶ F. A. Braun, *Razyskaniia v oblasti goto-slavianskikh otnoshenii. I. Goty i ikh sosedii do V veka. Pervyi period: Goty na Visle* (Saint Petersburg, 1899), pp. 77, 90, 96 (Sbornik ORIAS = *Otdelenie russkogo jazyka i slovesnosti Imp. Akademii nauk*, vol. XIV, no. 12).

⁷ «For the possible routes of the movement of Iranian tribes into the territory of the Iranian plateau, see R. Ghirshman, *L'Iran des origines à l'Islam* (Paris, 1951), pp. 58 ff.; I. D'jakonov, *Istoriia Mid'a*, pp. 124-125, 1249-50; E. A. Grantovskii, "Drevneiranskoe etnicheskoe nazvanie "Parsava-Parsa," in *Kratkie soobshcheniya Instituta narodov Azii AN SSSR*, fasc. XXX (1961), pp. 3-19; V. I. Abaev, *Skifo-europeiskie izoglosy na styke Vostoka i Zapada* (Moscow, 1961), pp. 122-24; M. Mayrhofer, *Die Indo-Arier im alten Vorderasien (mit einer analytischen Bibliographie)* (Wiesbaden, 1966); V. M. Masson, *Srednayaia Azia i Drevniy Vostok* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1964), pp. 395-449.»

⁸ *Voyages*, I, 269.

⁹ For the link between the lack of water and the absence of snow-clad mountains, see letter from A. D. Kalmykov.

CHAPTER III

Harāt and the Course of the Harī Rūd

THE Arab geographers do not give a detailed description of the roads connecting the valley of the Murghāb with that of the next substantial river, the Harī Rūd, where Harāt is located. The distance from Harāt northeastward to Marw al-Rūd was reckoned to be six days' journey, that from Harāt northwestward to Sarakhs, five days' journey. The country between Harāt and Marw al-Rūd was called Ganj Rustāq, and that between Harāt and Sarakhs, Bādghīs; this latter term later acquired a wider meaning and came to designate the whole northwestern part of present-day Afghanistan (even in the fifteenth century, Hāfiẓ-i Abrū applies the name Bādghīs to the whole area between the Harī Rūd and the Murghāb).¹ In both Ganj Rustāq and Bādghīs several towns are mentioned that did not have great importance. The rivulets Kūshk and Kāshān flow into the Murghāb from the southwest; they are not remarkable for any great volume of water, and in their lower course they are sometimes completely dry in summer. Even at the time of the Arab geographers, there was in these rivulets too little water for irrigation; in both Ganj Rustāq and Bādghīs fields were irrigated with either rain water or well water. Irrigation with rain water (the so-called dry farming) is frequently practiced in mountain areas, where rains fall more often than in the plains.

Northwestern Afghanistan was the object of detailed explorations by members of the British Boundary Commission in 1885-1886. The main road from Harāt to Marw in the Middle Ages probably ran along the valley of the Kūshk and not of the Kāshān; this is indicated by numerous ruins along the banks of the Kūshk, as well as by an ancient bridge on the site of Chihil Dukhtarān, often mentioned in the history of Timūr and the Timūrids.² Some twelve English miles north of this site is the Russian border post of

¹ «See also Barthold, *EI*¹, art. "Bādghīs."» [Barthold and F. R. Allchin, *EI*², art. "Bādghīs."]

² Yate, *Northern Afghanistan*, p. 222; cf. V. I. Masal'skii, *Turkestanskii krai*, p. 641. Chil-Dukhtar is now a border post on the right bank of the river near a ruin of the same name; it is the southernmost point of the [Russian] empire (35°38' 17" N). See *ibid.* for the settlements of Alekseevskoe and Poltavskoe.

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Kūshka. On the Kūshk, near the present-day settlement of Qal'a-i Mor, was the town of Baghshūr, through which passed, in addition to the road from Harāt to Marw al-Rūd, the road from the Murghāb at the castle of Akhnafa (now Karaul Khāne) westward to Bādghīs. The ruins of Baghshūr occupy a large area; in the center, upon an artificial mound of considerable height, the ruins of an old fortress built of brick are visible.³ Another road to Harāt is mentioned—that from the headwaters of the Murghāb, from the towns of Gharjistān, and passing through the settlement of Karūkh, which still exists (northeast of Harāt). The mountains that form the watershed between the Hari Rūd and the Murghāb systems were known in antiquity by the name of Paropamisus. This name is often used by present-day geographers as well. There is no native term for this mountain system as a whole, but each individual chain has a specific name; thus the westernmost branch, which delimits the valley of Harāt from the north, is called Kaytu or Kūh-i Bābā.⁴ The main chain reaches the height of about 10,000 feet, and gradually rises toward the east; the passes are quite steep, but the British still managed to bring in their heavy baggage without any major difficulty. From the northwest, the road to Harāt is entirely open. The northern slopes of the mountains are at present occupied by nomadic and seminomadic peoples: the Jamshīds, a people of Iranian origin, as we have seen; and the Hazāras, Iranized Mongols, who came here in the thirteenth century.⁴ The main settlement of the Jamshīds is Kūshk; that of the Hazāras, Qal'a-i Naw on the Kāshān; in the nineteenth century, the latter was still the residence of an independent Hazāra ruler.⁵ Fields under cultivation, both

³ «For Baghshūr and the fortress, see also Barthold, *Oroshenie*, in *Soch.* III, 137, 150; Le Strange, *The Lands*, pp. 413, 415; *Hudūd al-'ālam*, tr. Minorsky, p. 327.»

⁴ Although the westernmost section of the Paropamisus Mountains is indeed marked on modern maps as the "Band-i Bābā" and as similar terms, that of Kūh-i Bābā is usually now reserved for the eastern extension of the Paropamisus running toward Kabul, the massif of east-central Afghanistan; see Humlum, *La géographie de l'Afghanistan*, pp. 28 ff., and Bosworth, *EP*, art. "Kūh-i Bābā."

⁴ For the border between the Hazāra and the Jamshīds, see Yate, *Northern Afghanistan*, p. 12: "the Tagou-i-Jawal at the head of the Kushk river." The Jamshīds are also in Bālā-Murghāb, *ibid.*, p. 122; the Türkmens in Karaul-khāne; in the past, the Jamshīds lived also to the north of there (*ibid.*, p. 188); for their departure from Bālā-Murghāb, see *ibid.*, p. 217. «For the Jamshīds, see *Narody Perekop Azii*, pp. 124-33; for the Hazāra, see below.»

⁵ Qal'a-i Naw, its location on the map and in reality. The fortress of Neretū and its location. «For this fortress see Barthold, *Ulugbek*, *Soch.* II/2, 151 ff.; [Ulugh-Beg, tr. V. and T. Minorsky, in *Four Studies on the History of Central Asia*, II (Leiden, 1958), 149 ff.]; for the reading Nayratu in the Bombay lithograph of Khwāndamīr's *Habib*

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irrigated and dry, today occupy a much smaller area than in the past; numerous ruins show that the area used to be much more settled and cultivated. Bādghīs, with its excellent pastures, always used to attract nomads, and this is why a settled civilization could not develop here.⁶ War broke out in 1270 between the Mongols of Central Asia and those of Persia because of Bādghīs; Ferrier singles out the pastures around Qal'a-i Naw as the best in all Asia.⁷

Alexander the Great was considered by the Muslims to be the founder of Harāt, as of Marw. In the case of Harāt, the legend is supported by the accounts of Greek historians about the foundation of the city of Alexandria in the region of Aria, Ἀλεξάνδρεια ἡ ἐν Ἀρείοις; this city is mentioned both by Ptolemy (under the name Aria metropolis) and by Isidore of Charax, as separate from the local capital, Artakoana.⁸ The location of the latter has therefore been a subject of argument among scholars; in Tomaschek's opinion, Artakoana was situated on the site of the citadel of Harāt, which later, from the time of the Kurt dynasty (thirteenth-fourteenth centuries), was called Ikhtiyār al-Dīn. Owing to the extra-

al-siyar, see Boldyrev, *Zainaddin Vasifi*, p. 315.)» [Bosworth, *EP* Suppl., arts. "Hazāradjāt" and "Hazāras."]

⁶ See also Khanikoff (C. Ritter, *Iran* [St. Petersburg, 1874], p. 468, after Hājjī Khalifa) for pistachio woods in Bādghīs, where the fortress of Nertuka is located. Cf. letter from A. D. Kalmykov (2 November 1905) about extensive pistachio copses (wild pistachios) protected by our Forest Authority, in the southern part of the Pendin prefecture.

⁷ *Voyages*, I, 364.

⁸ Thus also Strabo, ed. H. L. Jones, V, 278 (= book XI, ch. 10): three cities, Ἀρταχάρνα καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρεια καὶ Ἀχαϊα, ἐπώνυμοι τῶν κτισάντων. (The Middle Persian work *The Towns of Īrānshahr* also attributes the founding of Harāt to Alexander the Great; see Markwart, *A Catalogue*, pp. 11, 46-47 (the same place gives a list of the cited ancient sources). This tradition is also reflected in the Arabic authors (Tabārī, I, 702; Qudāma, text, p. 265, tr., p. 207; Ḥamza Ḥisfāhānī, *Tārīkh sīnī mulūk al-ard*, ed. J.M.E. Gottwaldt [St. Petersburg and Leipzig, 1844-1848], text, p. 40, tr., p. 29; Thā'ālibī, *Ghurar al-siyar*, ed. and tr. H. Zotenberg [Paris, 1900], p. 415), but it probably goes back to a Middle Persian version of the Alexander romance that has not come down to us. Harāt as the name of a region is mentioned already in Achaemenid inscriptions as well as in the tenth Yasht of the Avesta (in the combination *maurum hārōyūm*, literally "to Harāt Marw," which may point to the inclusion of Margiana in the framework of some kind of pre-Achaemenid political formation with its center in the area of Harāt; cf. I. Gershevitch, *The Avestan Hymn to Mithra* [Cambridge, 1959], pp. 81, 176). Harāt is mentioned, in the form *hryw* (Harēv or Harē, cf. Harf in early New Persian texts, for example in the *Hudūd al-ālam*, fols. 6b, 10a, etc.), in the inscription of Shāpūr I at Naqsh-i Rustam (middle of the third century A.D.); in the fifth and sixth centuries, Harāt was an important military base of the Sāsānids in their struggle with the Hephthalites.)»

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dinary fertility of the Hari Rūd valley, Harāt was already in Sāmānid times one of the chief cities of Khurāsān, although it remained aside from the main trade routes; we saw that the main route from Persia to Turkestān passed from Nīshāpūr via Sarakhs and Marw, where a road branched off to Balkh, whither Indian goods were brought. Harāt, however, carried on trade with Sīstān and the southern Persian regions all the way to Fārs. The length and width of the city equaled one farsakh;⁹ like other large cities, it consisted of a *shahristān* (the city proper), a *rabād* (the suburb), and a *quhandiz* (the citadel). The city had four gates at the four points of the compass. Of these, the eastern one, the gate of Kūshk, still has the same name. From the northern gate the road led to Balkh; from the western one, to Nīshāpūr; and from the southern one, to Sīstān. Only the northern gate was made of iron, whereas the rest were wooden. The palace of the ruler was situated outside the city to the west of it, at a distance of approximately one-third of a farsakh¹⁰ at a place called Khurāsānābād. Almost the whole city was also surrounded by an outer wall at a distance of thirty paces from the inner one.¹¹ All these walls were destroyed as a result of the inhabitants' rebellions; the same is also said about other large cities, such as Samarqand. İştakhri and Ibn Hawqal specify in the case of Harāt, as in that of other large cities, the location of the ruler's palace (see above), of the Friday mosque (in the center of the city), of the jail (to the west of the Friday mosque), and of the bazaars (near each gate and around the Friday mosque).¹² No other Khurāsānian city had as many people who spent all their time at the mosque as had Harāt.¹³ The buildings, as everywhere, were made of clay; stones for paving were quarried in the mountains half a farsakh north of the city. The mountains were already at that time stripped of forests, and brushwood from the steppe extending south of the Hari Rūd was used for firewood. On the top of the mountain was a temple of the fire worshipers, and between the

⁹ In İştakhri, p. 264, *half a farsakh*; the same in Ibn Hawqal, p. 316.

¹⁰ («One-third»—addition by Barthold in the margin.) [Cf. Le Strange, *The Lands*, p. 408.]

¹¹ Three rows of walls.

¹² İştakhri, pp. 264-65; Ibn Hawqal, pp. 316-17.

¹³ İştakhri, p. 265, about the fact that in other towns of these regions (*bi-hādhīh al-amākin*) (this refers to Khurāsān, Māwarānnahr, Sīstān, and Jibāl) the inhabitants go to the mosque only at the time of the Friday prayer, whereas in Harāt—‘alā rasm al-Shām wa ‘l-thughūr “in the manner of the people of Syria and the frontier regions.” Mention of *halaq al-fuqahā* “circles of legal scholars.” Besides Harāt (there is reference also) to people in the mosques of Balkh and Zarān.

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mountain and the city was a Christian church. The city was famous for its manufacture of cloth; in the Mongol period, a kind of tissue woven with gold thread with patterns and figures was especially valued. From Harāt were exported, in large quantities, raisins, pistachios, honey, and other sweets. Even today there are many fruit trees on the southern slopes of the mountains that delimit the valley of the Hari Rūd from the north.

The history of Harāt in pre-Mongol times offers little that is noteworthy; the city shared, as a rule, the fate of the rest of Khurāsān and was never the residence of independent and powerful rulers. As a result of its geographical situation, Harāt was conquered before any other Khurāsānian city by the rulers of the mountainous region of Ghūr, who became powerful in the twelfth century; the Hari Rūd as well as the rivers that flow southwestward have their sources in this mountainous region. To the east of Harāt, a few more settlements are mentioned, among them Marābād (Mārava on the modern maps) and Awfa (Obeh on present-day maps). Two days' journey from Awfa was also the settlement of Chisht,¹⁴ after which one entered the region of Ghūr; Ghūr bordered on the possessions of the Abū Dāwūdids, with Gūzgān, Gharjistān, and the Harāt region to Farāwa or Farāh. The geographers of the tenth century point out Ghūr as the only region surrounded on all sides by Islamic territories and yet inhabited by infidels. The simple fact of these mountaineers' long resistance to Muslim conquerors indicates the inaccessibility of the region. According to Ferrier, this whole area can be viewed as one huge fortress raised in the central and highest part of the extensive Asian highland.¹⁵ From whichever side one approaches, one must cross high and steep mountains; these cut through the region in several directions, especially from the east. According to Iṣṭakhrī, at the time of the Sāmānids, the only inhabitants of Ghūr who professed Islam were those who lived in immediate vicinity of Islamic territories, and even their conversion was only superficial.¹⁶ The Persian author of the *Hudūd al-*

¹⁴ «For the monuments of Chisht (another name: Khwāja-i Chisht), see G. Wiet, "Les coupoles de Tshisht," in Maricq and Wiet, *Le minaret de Djam*, pp. 64-70; G. A. Pugachenkova, *Iskusstvo Afganistana* (Moscow, 1963), pp. 98-99; Masson-Romodin, I, 266 and the bibliography there.»

¹⁵ *Voyages*, II, 15.

¹⁶ Iṣṭakhrī, 272. «For a summary of sources about Ghūr in the ninth and tenth centuries, see A. A. Naimi, "Un regard sur Ghor. Préambule: la géographie, l'histoire et les sites historiques," *Afghanistan*, IV (1949), 1-23; C. E. Bosworth, "The Early Islamic History of Ghūr," *CAJ*, VI (1961), 116-33; Masson-Romodin, I, 255-57.»

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‘ālam asserts that the ruler of Ghūr, whose title was Ghūr Shāh, submitted to the Farīghūnids of Gūzgān, after which a majority of the mountaineers adopted Islam.¹⁷ The first to penetrate the interior of the region was the Ghaznawid sultān Mas‘ūd, in 1020, during the rule of his father Maḥmūd, when Mas‘ūd was governor of Harāt. The historian Bayhaqī gives a detailed description of this campaign, which resulted in the conquest of several settlements and fortifications of Ghūr and the submission of one of the rulers, whose subjects were considered the most warlike of all the Ghūr people.¹⁸ The residence of this ruler had previously been the capital of Ghūr, and he who possessed this part of the country controlled the entire region. The fortifications served the inhabitants of Ghūr primarily for the protection of women, children, and possessions in time of military campaigns. The language of the people of Ghūr differed so much from that of the inhabitants of the plain that Mas‘ūd had to communicate with them through an interpreter.¹⁹

In the eleventh century, the people of Ghūr became Muslims and nominally submitted to the Ghaznawid government, but remained under the rule of the local dynasty of Sūrī. One of the representatives of this dynasty, who was still reigning in Ghūr in the settlement of Āhangarān in Maḥmūd’s time, was taken prisoner and ended his life by suicide. (The settlement of Āhangarān itself may perhaps correspond to the place of the same name that still exists on the upper reaches of the Hari Rūd.) In the twelfth century, powerful rulers arose who were descended from this dynasty; they acquired first Ghazna, then Harāt with a part of Khurāsān, all of present-day Afghanistan, and a part of India. The capital of Ghūr was at that time the fortress of Firūzkūh, also situated on the upper reaches of the Hari Rūd, apparently not far from Āhangarān.²⁰ The location of this city, which was at the end of the twelfth and beginning of the thirteenth centuries one of the capitals of a mighty kingdom, and which was embellished by a series of magnificent buildings, cannot be identified with certainty, because the upper

¹⁷ *Hudūd al-‘ālam*, fol. 21b [tr. Minorsky, p. 106].

¹⁸ *Ta’rīkh-i Mas‘ūdī*, ed. W. H. Morley (Calcutta, 1861-1862), pp. 128-34 [ed. Qāsim Ghānī and ‘Alī Akbar Fayyād (Tehran, 1324/1945), pp. 114-20].

¹⁹ «For the dialects of Ghūr in the tenth and eleventh centuries, see also *Hudūd al-‘ālam*, tr. Minorsky, p. 344; Wiet, in Maricq and Wiet, *Le minaret de Djām*, p. 46.»

²⁰ Cf. Jūzjānī, tr. Raverty, II, 1,047. [For the history of the Ghūrid dynasty, see Wiet in Maricq and Wiet, *Le minaret de Djām*, “Commentaire historique,” pp. 32-54; Bosworth, *EI²*, art. Ghūrids; *idem*, in *Cambridge History of Iran*. V. *The Saljuq and Mongol Periods*, ed. J. A. Boyle (Cambridge, 1968), pp. 157-66.]

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reaches of the Hari-Rūd are still little explored. When Ferrier was there in 1845, the local prince pointed out for him the ancient town of Shaharak, not far from Dawlat Yār, as the former capital of Ghūr;²¹ he also pointed out the town of Qarabāgh, surrounded by ruins, in which people found coins that pertained, according to the British officer who saw them, to Alexander the Great.²² The dynasty remembered by the name of Ghūrid was extinguished just before the Mongol invasion. The western part of its domains was conquered by the Khwārazmshāh Muḥammad; the mountain fortifications of Ghūr and Gharjistān, however, put up a stiff resistance to the Mongol armies.

Harāt, like other Khurāsānian cities, was taken in 1221 by Chingiz Khan's son Toluy; as the inhabitants surrendered voluntarily before the assault, the city was spared, and Toluy limited his action to the extermination of the garrison, 12,000 strong. In the same year, however, the temporary successes of the Khwārazmshāh Jalāl al-Dīn spurred the inhabitants to rise against the Mongols and caused a new siege of Harāt; the city was taken in 1222 after a six-months' siege and suffered complete destruction. The Mongol armies did not maintain themselves in Khurāsān in Chingiz Khan's lifetime, and the Mongols had to reconquer the region under his successor Ögedey; Khurāsān was thus exposed to new destruction and accordingly recovered much more slowly than Māwarānnahr. Harāt was rebuilt sooner than other large cities of Khurāsān; according to some reports, the Khan Ögedey liked the cloths made by Harāt craftsmen so much that he allowed the craftsmen to return home and establish workshops there.²³ Under the khan Möngke

²¹ *Voyages*, I, 444-45.

²² Holdich, *The Indian Borderland, 1880-1900*, p. 146: "The ancient Afghan capital of Ghor was unearthed." Cf. M. L. Dames, *EI*¹, art. "Firūzkōh" (reference to Holdich, *The Gates of India* (R. N. Frye, *EI*², art. "Firūzkūh"; the ruins of Taywāra in the basin of the upper Farāh Rūd; mention of a convenient link with Harāt, Farāh, and the valley of the Hari Rūd.)] [Although the site of the recently discovered minaret of Jam in the upper Hari Rūd valley was confidently identified by Maricq (Maricq and Wiet, *Le minaret de Djam*, p. 55) as that of the Ghūrid capital Firūzkūh, an opinion followed by Frye in his *EI*² article cited above, doubts remain as to the correctness of this identification. Note the cogent arguments of L. S. Leshnik, "Ghor, Firuzkoh, the Minar-i Jam." *CAJ*, XII (1968), 36-49, suggesting a more probable site in central Ghūr (Jam being on its northern fringe) at Taywāra on the upper Rūd-i Ghōr (not in the valley of the Farāh Rūd); on the other hand, G. Vercellin, "The Identification of Firuzkuh: a Conclusive Proof," *EW*, n.s. XXVI (1976), 337-40, has maintained the correctness of Maricq's original view.]

²³ «For Harāt and the Harāt oasis after the Mongol conquest, as well as for the beginning of the city's reconstruction in 1236, see Ṣayfi al-Harawī, *Ta'rikh-i Harāt*

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(1251-1259), Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Kurt, a man from Ghūr, already in possession of the fortress of Khaysār, was granted Harāt;²⁴ Khaysār is mentioned by the tenth-century geographers as being on the road from Harāt to Ghūr, two days' journey from the former.²⁵ Shams al-Dīn laid foundations of the Kurt dynasty, and this was how a dynasty of Ghūrī origin became established in Harāt once more.²⁶

From that time onward begins the florescence of Harāt as the chief city of Khurāsān. Through it, as a result of the destruction of Marw and Balkh, now led the trade route from western Asia toward the northeast to Turkestan and China, and toward the southeast to India.²⁷ The city retained this commercial importance down to the most recent times, until the construction of the Transcaspian railway; thanks to this advantageous commercial position, Harāt always recovered quickly from invasions by nomads and other external enemies. Here, to use Ferrier's expression, converged all the roads leading to the main parts of Asia.²⁸

The Kurt dynasty ruled Harāt throughout the time of the Mongol rule in Persia in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Fakhr al-Dīn Kurt (1285-1307)²⁹ built the present-day citadel of Harāt, which is located in the northern part of the city and which was at that time, as noted above, called Ikhtiyār al-Dīn. Also built under the Kurts was the inaccessible fortress of Amān Kūh, or Eshkilche, some four farsakhs to the southwest of the city. The strongest ruler of this dynasty was Mu'izz al-Dīn Husayn (1331-1370), in whose

(Calcutta, 1944), pp. 87-128; Petrushevskii, "Trud Seyfi"; Masson-Romodin, I, 298-99.)

²⁴ «Shams al-Dīn had extended his rule to Harāt by 1244 or 1245; see Masson-Romodin, I, 297; Frye, *EI*², art. "Harāt."»

²⁵ İştakhri, p. 285. «For the location of Khaysār, see [Mu'in al-Dīn] Isfizāri [Rawdāt al-jannāt fī awṣāf madīnat Harāt], tr. A. C. Barbier de Meynard, *JA*, 5th series, XVII (1861), 455 [ed. Sayyid Muḥammad Kāzim Imām (Tehran, 1338-9/1959-60), I, 358-59]; Masson-Romodin, I, 295.»

²⁶ «For various versions of Kurt genealogy, see Masson-Romodin, I, 295 n. 52; for the reading of the dynasty's name (Kurt or Kart), see *ibid.*, I, 294 n. 46, and Barthold, II/2, 55 n. 135.» [B. Spuler, *EI*², art. "Kart."]

²⁷ «For the growth of Harāt's importance under the Kurts, see Masson-Romodin, I, 318-19, and the bibliography cited there; for the attempts of the Mongols to halt the economic rise of Harāt at the end of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth century, see Petrushevskii, "Trud Seyfi," pp. 141-43, 161.»

²⁸ *Voyages*, I, 315-16.

²⁹ «Fakhr al-Dīn ruled from 1294-1295 succeeding on the throne his father Rukn al-Dīn (who was Shams al-Dīn the Younger, 1278 to 1294-5), son of Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad; see Masson-Romodin, I, 302.»

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time the fall of the Persian Mongols took place. Mu'izz al-Din Husayn brought under his control all the regions up to the Murghāb, whence he undertook raids still further east; thus in 1368 he plundered Shapūrgān.³⁰ Until 1353 he recognized nominally the suzerainty of the last representative of the Il-Khanid dynasty, Tugay Timūr; after the latter's death, he made himself a fully independent ruler and remained such until his death, although as early as 1354 he had been defeated by the amīr Kazagan, governor of the Chaghatai state.³¹ Under his son Ghiyāth al-Dīn Pīr-‘Alī, in 1381, there took place the conquest of Harāt by Timūr. The historian ‘Abd al-Razzāq Samarqandī, whose source was the Khurāsānian historian Hāfiẓ-i Abrū, gives us fairly detailed information about the personality of the last king of Harāt. He was noted for his gentle character and did not harm his subjects; during the defense of the city he showed personal valor, but he had been too devoted to pleasure to prepare himself in time for the siege.³² He had not taken care to gather an army that could repel the attack, but expressed the conviction that "everybody would fight for women and children." In the meantime, Timūr promised at the very start of the siege the inviolability of life and possessions to everybody who would remain in his house and refrain from taking part in armed resistance. Under such conditions, nobody paid attention to Ghiyāth al-Dīn's orders; he was advised to execute several people as an example to others, but preferred to surrender the city to Timūr. The latter razed the inner and outer walls and imposed a large fine on the inhabitants; a still larger sum was taken after an unsuccessful uprising in 1383. Ghiyāth al-Dīn was at first allowed to stay on as governor of Harāt, but in 1382 he was taken to Samarqand and in the following year he was killed.³³

³⁰ «For the limits of Mu'izz al-Din's domains, see Petrushevskii, "Trud Seyfi," pp. 143-44; Masson-Romodin, I, 316.»

³¹ «In V. A. Romodin's opinion (Masson-Romodin, I, 316), Mu'izz al-Din became not only a *de facto* but also a formally independent sovereign after the death of Abū Sa'id (1335).»

³² ‘Abd al-Razzāq, *Maṭla' al-sa'dayn*, ms. fol. 74b. «For a description of the siege of Harāt, see also Niẓām al-Dīn Shāmī, *Zafar-nāma*, ed. F. Tauer (Prague, 1937-1956), I, 82-84.» [For ‘Abd al-Razzāq Samarqandī, see Storey, *Persian Literature* I, 293-98, 1276-77; Storey-Bregel', II, 820-28; Barthold-Mohammad Shafi, *EP*², s.v. The *Maṭla' al-sa'dayn* has now been edited by Shafi (Lahore, 1360-8/1941-9). For Hāfiẓ-i Abrū, see Storey, I, 86-89, 1235-36; Storey-Bregel', I, 341-49; F. Tauer, *EP*², s.v.]

³³ For the destruction of the last representative of the Kurt dynasty by Timūr's

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The city quickly recovered from this destruction, and remained the capital of Khurāsān under Tīmūr and the Tīmūrids. The governor of the region was for several years Tīmūr's son Mīrānshāh, followed from 1397 onward by his second son Shāhrukh, who stayed in Harāt even after Tīmūr's death, when he became the sovereign of the whole empire. In 1415 Shāhrukh rebuilt the fortifications of Harāt destroyed by Tīmūr. Among other powerful Tīmūrids who resided in Harāt, Abū Sa'īd lived there in 1458-1469³⁴ and Sultān Ḥusayn [Bāyqarā] from 1469 to 1506.³⁵ The period of the Tīmūrids was the most brilliant in the history of Harāt.³⁶ The names of Shāhrukh and Sultān Ḥusayn are to this day alive in the memory of the population; according to Ferrier, these names are known to everyone, even in the most miserable hovel, and they are never pronounced with other than respect.³⁷ To this period also belong some surviving buildings. In the city itself, only one stands out: the Friday mosque, built as early as 1201 by the Ghūrid sultān Ghiyāth al-Dīn, and later restored under the Kurts.³⁸ It is located in the northeastern part of the city. More beautiful are the buildings around Harāt. The best of these was to the northwest of the city and had the name of Muṣallā, that is, "place of prayer"; this term was applied to places in the outskirts of large towns where Muslims would go in order to celebrate the two important festivals, namely, that of breaking the fast after Ramadān, and that of the sacrifices, the *'id al-qurbān*, on 10 Dhū'l-Hijja. The Muṣallā of Harāt consisted of three structures: the madrasa, of which there remained in Yate's time only two arches and four minarets; the domelike structure with tombs of several Tīmūrids; and the large mosque. According to [Mu'īn al-Dīn] Isfizārī,³⁹ both the mosque and the madrasa were built in the reign

son Mīrānshāh, see Barthold, *Ulugbek, Soch.* II/2, 55 [*Ulugh-Beg*, tr. Minorsky, p. 33].

³⁴ «For a detailed exposition of the events, see Barthold, *Ulugbek, Soch.* II/2, 170-71.» [*Ulugh-Beg*, tr. Minorsky, pp. 172-73.]

³⁵ For Harāt in the time of Sultān Ḥusayn [Bāyqarā], see *Bābur-nāma*, ed. A. S. Beveridge (London, 1905), p. 188.

³⁶ According to Schiltberger, *Puteshestviia* (see below, Ch. VII n. 25), p. 45, there were in Harāt 300,000 houses. «Cf. Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfi, *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, ed. Le Strange (London, 1915), p. 152, tr. *idem* (London, 1919), p. 151: 444,000 houses.»

³⁷ Ferrier, *Voyages*, I, 338.

³⁸ Isfizārī, University ms., fols. 10a, 131b [ed. Kāzim Imām, I, 30 ff., 254.] «For traces of architectural decoration of the Friday mosque pertaining to the pre-Mongol period, see Masson-Romodin, I, 266.»

³⁹ Isfizārī, University ms., fols. 10a, 170b [ed. Kāzim Imām, I, 30 ff., 271-72].

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of Shāhrukh by the queen Gawhar-shād Begum, whose tomb was also in the Muṣallā; on it is indicated the date of her death (861/1457).⁴⁰ The mosque was considered to be the second Friday mosque of Harāt. Ferrier and Yate were enraptured by the proportions and elegance of the dome and arches and variety of ornamentation. Today these structures no longer exist, because in 1885 the Afghan amīr 'Abd al-Rahmān had them torn down on the insistence of British engineers, who were then expecting a siege of Harāt by the Russians.⁴¹

In the environs of Harāt, the artificial mound called Tall-i Bangiyān ("Mound of the Users of Opium") to the north of the city is also remarkable. Here, Yate had been told, the orgies of those addicted to this vice took place.⁴² Ferrier heard a legend that he himself found hard to believe: Nādir Shāh was supposed to have erected this mound in order to shell the citadel of Harāt.⁴³ It is more likely that this is the citadel of pre-Mongol Harāt.⁴⁴

East of there and some two English miles to the northeast of the city is the place Gazur-gāh (corruption of Kārzār-gāh, "place of the battle"; according to Isfizārī, a battle took place there in 206 A.H.).⁴⁵ This was one of the residences of former rulers of Harāt, together with the mausoleum of the eleventh-century shaykh 'Abd Allāh

⁴⁰ In Wāṣīfī (fol. 59a), mention is made of the madrasa of the pious late sovereign Mirzā Shāhrukh, which is situated below the citadel of Harāt (cf. Boldyrev, *Ocherki*, p. 339). In Wāṣīfī, fol. 61b, it is said that the great sovereign, 'Alishīr, had completed the work of restoring the Friday mosque of Harāt. There are two *ta'rikhs* (composed by the Sayyid Ikhtiyār al-Dīn Ḥasan), one in Arabic and one in Persian; the former is "on the northern [?] side of the maqṣūra aywān," and the latter "on the façade framing the aywān." (Both these *ta'rikhs* give the date 904 A.H., the date of the completion of the restoration works on the Harāt Friday mosque; the same date appears in Khwāndamīr, see Boldyrev, "Memuary Vosifi," pp. 238-39; *idem*, *Zaynaddin Vasifi*, pp. 74, 323-24.) Wāṣīfī, *Badā'i' al-waqā'i'*, fol. 216a, mentions the "caravanserai of Mirak Ṣarrāf which is [located] in the Iraq gate." On the way from here to the "king's gate" is the "place of amusement which is the abode of pleasure of Khurāsān and the home of revelry of the city of Harāt. Nowhere in the inhabited part of the world is a drinking-house like it mentioned by any traveler."

⁴¹ Holdich, *The Indian Borderland*, pp. 142-43.

⁴² Northern Afghanistan, p. 33.

⁴³ Voyages, I, 342.

⁴⁴ Isfizārī, University ms., fol. 21a [ed. Kāzīm Imām, I, 77.]

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* [ed. Kāzīm Imām, I, 382, placing this battle during the governorship of Hārūn b. Husayn, which he says lasted for thirty-seven months after the brief governorship (six months during the year 200/ 815-6) of Muḥammad b. Saddād. *Ibid.*, II, 50-51, however, the battle—between the Khārijī rebel Ḥamza b. Ādharak and the 'Abbāsid governor 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Ammār—indeed took place in 206/821-2.]

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Anṣārī, "the holy man of Harāt"; the mausoleum was erected in the fifteenth century by the Timūrids, and next to it stands a magnificent monument made from white marble. Here are also buried some other personalities, among them the renowned Afghan amīr Dūst Muḥammad, who died in 1863. For the construction of monuments and tombstones, white marble quarried near the settlement of Obeh and black marble from the deposit of Shāh Maqṣūd in the mountains north of Qandahār, were used.^b

In Ferrier's opinion, all of these structures had once been part of the urban area, whereas the modern city corresponds to what in Harāt's brilliant epoch was the citadel. There is, however, no ground for making such an assumption. Contemporary historians, especially Isfizārī, give us fairly detailed information on what kind of city Harāt was in the Timūrid period. From Isfizārī's testimony, we see that the layout of the city was then the same as it is today.⁴⁶ The city was surrounded by a wall⁴⁷ with five gates, of which two were on the northern side. The names of the gates were the same as today, except for that of the southern gate, which had the same name as in the tenth century, that is, Firūzābād;⁴⁸ now it is called the Qandahār Gate. Isfizārī ordered his students to measure the length of the walls. It turned out that their circumference was 7,300 paces; from the northern gate to the southern one, the length was 1,900 paces, and an equal number from the eastern to the western one.⁴⁹ These data fully correspond to the dimensions of the modern city, whose circumference, according to John Login (who lived here a long time), equals one farsakh.⁵⁰

After the Timūrids,⁵¹ Harāt was incorporated into the Ṣafawid

^b For the Gāzurgāh shrine complex, see Lisa Golombek, *The Timurid Shrine at Gazur Gah* (Toronto, 1969).

⁴⁶ Isfizārī, University ms., fol. 21a [ed. Kāzim Imām, I, 19ff.].

⁴⁷ Cf. also Faṣīḥ, fols. 428b-429a, under the year 844: "Construction of the moat, rampart, and battlements of the fortress of the city of Harāt began on the sixteenth of Safar [844]" (17 June 1440).

⁴⁸ Cf. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 928; "and Firūzābād is also a place outside Harāt; there is in it a Ṣūfī *khānaqāh*."

⁴⁹ Samarqand, according to Bābur, was 10,600 paces in length; Marw, according to Hamd Allāh Mustawfī, was 12,300 paces long.

⁵⁰ Ferrier, *Voyages*, I, 233. There is a map in von Niedermeyer, *Afghanistan*; the length of the eastern side was 1,476 meters, and of the southern side, 1,206 meters.

⁵¹ «For Harāt under the Timūrids, see also Barthold, *Ulugbek* [tr. Minorsky, *Ulugh-Beg*]; Barthold, *Mir-Āli-Shir* [tr. Minorsky, *Mīr 'Alī Shir*]; Belenitskii, "Istoricheskaiia topografija Gerata"; M. Masson, "K istoricheskoi topografi Gerata"; Masson-Romodin, I, 332-48 and bibliography; L. Bouvat, "Essai sur la civilisation timouride," *JA*,

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state, but was several times conquered by the Uzbeks; at the end of the sixteenth century, Shāh 'Abbās restored Persian rule here and endeavored to revive the city's importance. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Harāt was a bone of contention between the Afghan rulers and Persian shāhs, and the number of its inhabitants, if one may believe the travelers' accounts, was subject to great fluctuations. According to Ferrier, there were in the city prior to the siege by the Persians 70,000 inhabitants; after the siege, only 6,000 to 7,000 remained.⁵² The energetic ruler of Harāt, Yār Muḥammad Khān (1842-1853), whose personality made a strong impression on Ferrier and British travelers, endeavored to attract the inhabitants back, and by means of a general amnesty encouraged the return of those who during earlier wars had gone over to the Persian or British side; in 1845, when Ferrier visited Harāt, there were there already between 20,000 and 22,000 inhabitants. Grodekov, who visited Harāt in 1878, estimated the number of inhabitants to be up to 50,000.⁵³ The panic spread by the Russian movements in 1885 again caused a depopulation of the city; Yate estimated that hardly 10,000 inhabitants of either sex remained there.⁵⁴ In 1893 Yate visited Harāt for the second time; then, he says, there were up to 3,000 families.⁵⁵ The city is surrounded on all sides by a high earthen rampart, on top of which there is a wall;⁵⁶ it is traversed by two streets, one from east to west and one from north to south, and these streets are paved with square wooden

CCVIII (1926), 193-299; Wilber, *Annotated Bibliography*, nos. 378, 953, 978, 998.
[1]. Brandenburg, *Herat, eine Timuridische Haupstadt* (Graz, 1977)]»

⁵² *Voyages*, I, 326.

⁵³ Kostenko, *Turkestanskii krai*, II, 174. The taking of Harāt by the Persians in 1852 and 1855, by the Afghans in 1863. «For these events see Bushev, *Gerat i anglo-iranskaya voyna*.»

⁵⁴ *Northern Afghanistan*, p. 29. According to Yate, the city had become depopulated earlier—there were, according to the census made several years before, only 1,700 families; "now there are 2,000 families, hardly more than 10,000 inhabitants" (the date of this passage in Yate's diary: 30 August 1885). According to the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, V, 78, there are in Harāt 10,000 to 14,000 inhabitants, in Qandahār about 31,000. In Marw there are up to 16,000 (Masal'skii, *Turkestanskii krai*, p. 638). [The estimated population of Harāt in 1969 was 86,000, according to Dupree, *Afghanistan*, p. 161.]

⁵⁵ *Khurasan and Sistan* (Edinburgh and London, 1900), p. 18.

⁵⁶ The height of the rampart is fifty feet, that of the wall on top of it, twenty-five feet. Grodekov ("Poezdka") mentions a stone wall some four fathoms high, provided with towers. See also Hāfiẓ-i Tanish, *Abdallāh-nāma*, fol. 489b: "The fortress of Ikhtiyār al-Dīn, which is [also] known as Bālā-Furghā."

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beams. At the intersection of the streets there was a dome—the *chārsū* (*chahār-sū*); this center and the sections of the streets that are adjacent to it are paved with fired bricks. The ruler's palace (Chahār Bāgh), located near the Friday mosque, is nothing remarkable. Altogether, almost all the buildings of the city are built of clay; there are no stone buildings at all, and very few brick ones.⁵⁷

Below Harāt in the valley of the Hari Rūd there are a few more settlements;⁵⁸ each of these, according to latest travelers, includes in addition to inhabited dwellings a considerable number of empty clay buildings, so that such a settlement at first sight appeared much more populous than it really was. This decline was caused here, as in all of Bādghīs, by the raids of the Turkmens. In the Middle Ages, there was on the Hari Rūd at a distance of one march from Harāt on the road to Nīshāpūr the town of Būshang, home of the Tāhirid dynasty; some other settlements were also attached to Būshang.⁵⁹ Here it was still possible to use the water of the Hari Rūd, which then as now had so little water further downstream

⁵⁷ Yate, *Northern Afghanistan*, p. 29. See G. Forster, *A Journey from Bengal to England through the Northern Part of India, Kashmir, Afghanistan and Persia and into Russia by the Caspian-sea* (London, 1798), II, 120, about Harāt in the second half of the eighteenth century: "Herat is a smaller city than Kandahar, but maintains a respectable trade"; for the nineteenth century see Holdich, *The Indian Borderland*, p. 171: "The city is a poor one, and its bazaar quite third-rate, as compare either Kandahar or Kabul," (For Harāt in the nineteenth century see also G. B. Malleson, *Herat, the Granary and Garden of Central Asia* (London, 1880); for a description of Harāt's monuments, see Afghān Khālīdi, *Āthār-i Harāt* (Harāt, 1309-10/1930-1); see also Wilber, *Annotated bibliography*, nos. 343, 362, 1067; R. N. Frye, *EP*², art. "Harāt." (For the surviving array of mosques, madrasas, and other public buildings of Harāt, see Z. V. Togan, *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, art. "Herat"; Terry Allen, *A Catalogue of the Toponyms and Monuments of Timurid Herat, Studies in Islamic Architecture 1*, Aga Khan Program for Islamic Architecture (Cambridge, Mass., 1981).)

⁵⁸ The valley of Harāt, after Ibn Rusta, *al-A'lāq al-nafsa* (Leiden, 1892), p. 173: 400 villages, among these also 47 *dastharas*, in each 10 to 20 souls, 324 mills; cf. Barthold, *Soch.* IV, 296 n. 13. A large number of villages in Haraiva, according to the *Vendidad*: see Geiger, *Ostirānische Kultur im Alterthum*, p. 72. (The subject of argument is the interpretation of the word *viš.harāzana*, which appears in the first *fargard* of the *Vendidad* (#8) as attribute to *harōiva-* "Harāt." Bartholomae and a number of other scholars translate *viš.harāzana-* as "((with)) abandoned houses," whereas A. Christensen as well as Geiger prefer the translation "with villages scattered ((around))"; see Christensen, *Le premier chapitre du Vendidad et l'histoire primitive des tribus iraniennes* (Copenhagen, 1943), pp. 18-20.)

⁵⁹ According to Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, I, 758, Būshanj was some ten farsakhs from Harāt; Yāqūt saw it from a distance on his journey from Nīshāpūr to Harāt. (For a list of sources on Būshanj, see Barthold, *EP*¹, art. "Būshāndj"; Barthold-Spuler, *EP*², art. "Būshāndj.")

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that it could not even be used for irrigation. In 1885, members of the British Boundary Commission crossed the Harī Rūd below Harāt at a distance of not more than forty versts from the city. The river fanned out here into several branches, none of which was at that time of the year (November) more than two feet deep.⁶⁰ The valley gradually becomes narrower; near the bridge of Tīrpul, some twenty-five versts from Harāt, the width is not so much as one English mile. The bridge had an elegant and solid structure, and needed only small repairs. After Tīrpul, the valley broadens again without reaching the settlement of Kuhsān, which is situated at a distance of one English mile from the right bank of the river.⁶¹ In 1885, Kuhsān was the last inhabited point along the western border of Afghanistan.⁶² The fortress was in ruins; as early as 1845, Ferrier found only four hundred inhabited houses in Kuhsān, whereas the ruins of the ancient town occupied a much wider area.⁶³ The border between Afghanistan and Persia follows the Harī Rūd to the site of Zulfikār, which in 1885 came close to causing a breakdown of negotiations between Russia and Britain and the opening of hostilities. The significance of this place rests in the fact that here a passage opens in the chain of rocky bluffs on the right bank of the river; the rocks extend northward without interruption for about forty more versts up to the bridge of Pul-i Khātūn. Yate admits that the occupation of Zulfikār was indispensable to the Russians for the sake of rounding out their borders and in order that they might possess a border point that would meet their strategic needs and that would provide a direct link between the lines of attack along the Harī Rūd and the Kūshk river.⁶⁴ For the same reason, the Afghans and the British could not leave this point to the Russians, who in this case had to back down; as a result, access

⁶⁰ Holdich, "Afghan Boundary Commission: Geographical Notes," p. 277.

⁶¹ Holdich, *The Indian Borderland*, p. 171: "In fact, the actual wealth of the Hari Rud valley is all centered between Obeh and Kuhsān. There is not much more than a hundred miles of it in length." According to Strabo, book XI, ch. 10, the length of Aria was 2,000 stadia (350 versts), the width of the valley, 300 stadia (less than 50 versts). The Arabs considered the distance from Obeh to Harāt to be five days' journey (Iṣṭakhrī), and three days' journey from Harāt to Kūrisār (Ibn Rusta). The size of the town was one-sixth that of Harāt.

⁶² Yate, *Northern Afghanistan*, p. 51. Toman-Aga some twelve miles downstream below Kuhsān (*ibid.*).

⁶³ *Voyages*, I, 271.

⁶⁴ Yate, *Northern Afghanistan*, p. 76.

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from the east to a part of the Hari Rūd valley south of Pul-i Khātūn was closed to them.

Pul-i Khātūn represents the same kind of structure as Tīrpul; the resemblance is so great that the British considered the two bridges to be the work of the same architect.⁶⁵ The Hari Rūd serves here as the border between Russia and Persia up to the town of Sarakhs; Old Sarakhs, to the right of the Hari Rūd, is on the Russian side, New Sarakhs on the Persian. As early as the tenth century, in İştakhri's time, the waters of the Hari Rūd did not reach Sarakhs in the dry season;⁶⁶ today, according to Lessar, who was here in 1882, the river bed is usually dry.⁶⁷ Under such circumstances, even in the tenth century the inhabitants could water their fields only with rain water or well water.⁶⁸ There were, on the whole, few cultivated fields; pastures predominated in the environs of the town, and the main wealth of the inhabitants was in camels. Because of its location on the main road from Nīshāpūr to Marw, the town had great commercial importance, and it was one-half the size of Marw. Since the construction of the Transcaspian railway, however, the importance of Sarakhs is exclusively strategic. Russian Sarakhs includes only one hundred houses, the Persian only a fortress, built in 1850, with a small garrison.⁶⁹

Below Sarakhs, the Hari Rūd (or, as it is called on its lower course,

⁶⁵ The Pul-i Khātūn, according to Masal'skii (*Turkestanskii Krai*, p. 635) was rebuilt in 1899 by our military engineering authority. On the Persian side of the river there are ruins of a fortress made of hewn stone. See also Logofet, *Na granitsakh Srednei Azii*, I, 226.

⁶⁶ İştakhri, p. 272.

⁶⁷ Curzon, *Persia and the Persian Question*, I, 195.

⁶⁸ According to Ibn Rusta, p. 173, the canal that irrigated Sarakhs ran two farsakhs from the town. According to Geier, *Putevoditel' po Turkestanu*, p. 82, today the principal canal Salir begins at the mountains Kızılm-Kay; some ten versts above Sarakhs the trunk course feeds two secondary branches, the Khan-Yab and the Davlet-Magomet-bay. Two versts further down, the trunk course divides into three canals, after the number of three generations of the Türkmen clan of Salir; one of these canals irrigates the town of Sarakhs. For the absence of water in Sarakhs in mid-May of the extremely dry year 1040, see Barthold, *Oroshenie*, in *Soch.* III, 135 n. 10.

⁶⁹ According to Yate (*Khurasan and Sistan*, p. 34), there were in Russian Sarakhs up to 2,000 Salors and a small German colony; five-sixths of the water served Russian Sarakhs, and one-sixth Persian Sarakhs. According to the 1897 census, there were 1,748 souls in Sarakhs: 1,492 men and 256 women (Geier); according to Masal'skii, up to 2,500 inhabitants. The German settlement of Krestovyi was some eleven versts from Sarakhs on the canal Khan-Yab (*Turkestanskii krai*, pp. 332, 635).

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the Tejen) soon disappears in the sands; the river bed crosses the Central Asian railway near the station of Tejen [Tedzhen] some 118 versts from Marw.⁷⁰ It is difficult to say whether the river ever had more water; the area was seldom visited by travelers, so that the most fantastic ideas existed about the river. As late as 1845, Ferrier⁷¹ was able to believe a local legend according to which the Hari Rūd had merged, eighty years before his visit—that is, in the eighteenth century—with the Murghāb.⁷²

⁷⁰ Tedzhen, according to Geier, had 382 souls; according to Masal'skii, 550.

⁷¹ *Voyages*, I, 270.

⁷² Cf. also Bagrov's book *Materialy* and the review by Barthold in *ZVORAO*, XXI, 149, *Soch.* III, 293. Comparison with information in Ibn Rusta, p. 173: "and this river flows to a place called al-Ajma, [it is] between Sarakhs and Abiward; there is an abundance of tamarisk there as well as cultivated fields; the government levies the tithe from it." (For irrigation of the region of Sarakhs, see also Barthold, *Oroshenie*, in *Soch.* III, 134-35; Adykov, "Glavnye stantsii," p. 220; for the monuments see Mahdī Bāmdād, *Āthār-i ta'rīkhī-yi Kīlāt wa Sarakhs* (Tehran, 1333/1954).)

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